

CHURCH AND STATE

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Taxpayers 'Taken' for \$8,000,000 In Sneak-Through of Claims Bill

"In a surprise action taken only a few hours before adjournment [on July 27], Congress agreed to pay more than \$8,000,000 in claims by Catholic schools and religious orders in the Philippine Islands." This, the lead paragraph in a Religious News Service dispatch published in *The Catholic Review*, Baltimore, on August 3, aptly described the triumphant result of years of pressure exerted by the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

"The claims, based on food and services supplied American forces during the 1944 liberation of the island," the dispatch continued, "had been rejected under the War Claims Act of 1948 because the religious organizations could not prove direct 'affiliation' with the Catholic Church in the United States.

"Only six hours after the Senate Judiciary Committee had announced there was not enough time to consider the House-passed measure [H. R. 6586] before adjournment, Senator James O. Eastland (D., Miss.), chairman of the committee, obtained the Senate floor and announced that the committee was ready to report the bill.

"Senator Eastland obtained unanimous consent to suspend the rules and file the report shortly after the Senate convened for its final-day session. The bill was called from the calendar and passed without debate. . . .

"A few Protestant and Jewish claims may also be made payable under the legislation, as amended. . . ."

Fought by POAU

In earlier statements to the press and in an appeal for a White House veto after the bill was sneaked through Congress, POAU Executive Director Glenn L. Archer fought the bill, sponsored by Representative John W. McCormack of Massachusetts, as grossly violative of the principle of church-state separation—the principal objection—as well as fostering "disparity" by giving the lion's share of the proposed payments to

the Roman Catholic Church. Testimony presented by Protestant church groups opposing the measure—including the National Council of Churches and the National Association of Evangelicals, among others—pointed out that non-Catholic religious groups might receive, at best, the comparatively insignificant sum of about \$30,000. Archer called the bill an example of "politics at its worst," with neither party wanting to be "in the position of denying the Roman Catholic Church some pork barrel in an election year."

Try, Try Again

The church strategists who had engineered this mammoth treasury raid had applied the maxim "If at first you don't succeed . . .," with a vengeance. The legal opinion cited by Archer — General Counsel Opinion No. 47 — had been approved by the War Claims Commission on March 13, 1953. In the opinion, General Counsel Abraham S. Hyman had rejected claims presented under the War Claims Act of 1948 by 12 institutions under the control of the Archbishop of Manila, holding that the Archbishop, as a "corporation sole" responsible only to the Vatican, could not validly represent himself as a "religious association" affiliated with United States church headquarters for purposes of obtaining grants under the Act.

Three months later, the hierarchy had made its next "try," by means of H. R. 5722, a bill introduced on June 15, 1953, by Representative John W. Heselton of Massachusetts, to amend

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Ninth POAU Conference Slated for Los Angeles



Bishop Kennedy

The Ninth National Conference on Church and State—annual convention of POAU—will be held in Los Angeles, Calif., on February 4 and 5, 1957, the National POAU Board of Trustees announced recently. Host church for the Conference will be the First Baptist Church of Los Angeles.

A partial list of leading speakers was released by the board, including the following: Charles Clayton Morrison, founder of *The Christian Century*, Chicago, and president of POAU; Paul Blanshard, Vermont attorney and author of *American Freedom and Catholic Power* and other books; Frank H. Yost, Associate Secretary of the Seventh-day Adventist Religious Liberty Association, Takoma Park, Md.; Gerald Kennedy, Methodist Bishop of the Los Angeles area; Clyde W. Taylor, Secretary of Affairs, National Association of Evangelicals, Washington, D. C.; Roy L. Laurin, President, Los Angeles POAU chapter and area office; and Glenn L. Archer, C. Stanley Low-

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— Editorial —

Our Failure —And Opportunity

We were shocked by certain events of August 17th. It was not that one of the great political parties of this country, meeting at Chicago, came within an eyelash of nominating a Catholic candidate for vice-president. Actually the pro-Kennedy vote at the Democratic convention was largely a vote against Kefauver on a racial issue, and had little to do with sectarian classifications or principles. Senator John Kennedy of Massachusetts is an able and personable young man who is considered by many good Americans worthy of being vice-president, or even president. POAU is a non-political and non-partisan organization which does not support or oppose any specific candidate for public office either as an individual or as a member of any given church. It is possible that many of our members in good conscience would have voted for Senator Kennedy in preference to Vice-President Nixon; and that would have been their privilege and right.

We were shocked by something else. It was the utter unpreparedness of the American people to analyze or to candidly discuss the significance of a Catholic president in the development of our national life. The people knew that a vice-president of the United States might well become president; that tragic substitution has occurred too often in the past to be overlooked. But, so far as we know, not a newspaper in America asked the question, What effect would the elevation of a Catholic to the presidency have upon the American policy of church-state separation? There were even liberal intellectuals who suggested that it was base bigotry to raise the question at all.

So far as we know, not a newspaper asked where Senator Kennedy stood on the question of public money for sectarian schools, or the appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican, or cooperation with Franco's dictatorship in Spain, or the suppression of the rights of non-Catholics to birth-control information as presently practiced in his own state and elsewhere, or clerical censorship in general. Not a newspaper mentioned the fact that in all of these matters the hierarchy of Senator Kennedy's church has a policy which every Catholic officeholder is supposed to follow. Kennedy himself, if elevated to the Presidency, might have had enough courage and

independence to defy the hierarchy on several of these issues. But the public was not given the opportunity to find out for itself about his attitudes and convictions concerning vital aspects of our open society. Silence and evasion were the watchwords in the convention hall and in newspaper offices throughout the country.

Not a newspaper mentioned the fact that it was Mr. Kennedy, then a Congressman, who in March, 1950, when his church was making a national drive for federal aid for its schools, introduced in the House Labor Committee an amendment to the federal aid bill "under which," according to the *New York Times* of March 8, 1950, "the Federal Government would pay half the costs of bus service for private and parochial schools . . . The Kennedy amendment would have broadened the Aid for Education bill passed by the Senate which merely permitted use of federal funds that way. Today's vote . . . accentuated the religious controversy which has kept the bill tied up in a House committee for the last two sessions of Congress." The Kennedy amendment, offered in a closed session of the House committee, was defeated 16 to 9.

Every Candidate

In a sense the silence of the American press on Catholic policy and the separation of church and state at such a critical moment proves two things. It proves that fear of Catholic political reprisals is even stronger in our nation than we had realized. It proves that we have failed in our central mission to arouse the American people to the meaning of *all* clerical encroachments upon our freedoms and upon the Constitutional principle of church-state separation.

But our failure is also our opportunity and our challenge. Alone among the organized forces of our democracy POAU is ready and willing to ask those questions of *every* public official in American life. It will ask them as insistently of Roman Catholic officials as of any others. Every candidate must be required to demonstrate whether he is loyal in practice to the concept of church-state separation. Most important of all, it is clear that the need of POAU leadership and education has never been greater in supplying basic information to those millions of our fellow-citizens who have not yet become sufficiently aware of the dictatorial-clerical threat to the American way of life.

No Aid to Bigotry

by C. Stanley Lowell

One of the worthwhile achievements of the 84th congress was the passage of Senate resolution 323 on the basis of a move by Senator Herbert Lehman (D., N. Y.) and others. This resolution declared that in all negotiations with foreign powers the United States should seek to implement its own principle of no discrimination because of religion.

The resolution is good, but like many good pronouncements it lacks legs and teeth. The Senators should have added another item—that in all programs of foreign aid we should seek to reduce and eliminate aid to those nations which continue the practice of religious discrimination.

Italy is a good example. More than \$6 billion of our money has been spent to save this land from Communist tyranny. But in saving the Italians from Communist tyranny we have unwittingly been subsidizing another form of tyranny which is just as hard on their religious liberty. We have been financing a state which favors one church and oppresses all others, a state that practices religious discrimination at its worst. It is a state where Roman Catholic priests are paid by the government. It is a state where the Roman Catholic hierarchy controls education and enjoys a favored position in the law and the courts. Other churches enjoy no such favors and are, in fact, harassed and impeded in their operations. (It took

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CHURCH AND STATE

NEWS From Far and Near

No Aid

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one Protestant church three years of litigation to get permission to put up a sign.)

What should be the policy on foreign aid in this case? Subsidies to a regime which practices this kind of religious intolerance should be discontinued.

It will be argued that we should give aid to a country without becoming involved in its internal affairs. It will be argued that to insist on religious toleration might be resented as interference on our part. These arguments have little force. The fact is that we are already involved in the internal affairs of any nation we aid. The question, therefore, is not *whether* we shall be involved but only *how* we shall be involved. Shall we be involved as the guarantor of religious discrimination or as the harbingers of freedom for all faiths? This much is sure—we can never be wrong when we stand for a principle as precious to us as religious liberty.

It will be argued that certain countries which practice discrimination are needed as allies. Because we need them we must accept them exactly as they are without any hint at change. This argument is unimpressive. Certainly we need all the allies we can get, but they need us, too. In the give and take of this mutual need we should not hesitate to press for the convictions that matter most.

This whole question regarding foreign aid comes to point in the case of Spain. Spain is the most religiously intolerant nation in Europe. Since the 1953 agreement with Franco we have poured vast sums into this country. The cost of only the first phase of certain bases contemplated there has been \$400 million. In addition there are large sums going directly to military and economic aid.

Negotiations are now in progress toward a new agreement with Spain. Now is the time—just as it is the time with Italy, with Colombia, with Haiti, and with all Roman Catholic dominated lands whose governments persecute other faiths—to introduce into the discussions the fine American principle embodied in the Lehman-George Resolution.

Let this be our rule: aid only to those countries that practice religious toleration; *no subsidies to bigotry.*

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Plan to attend POAU's 9th national conference in Los Angeles (see page 1).

◆ Twenty-one of 44 Iranian villagers accused of massacring seven adherents of the Baha'i faith were sentenced in July to prison terms of from seven months to four years. Last year, the government itself led in the destruction of the Baha'i spiritual center in Teheran (*Church and State*, June and October, 1955 and May, 1956). The sect has American headquarters at Wilmette, Ill.

◆ Treaties between the United States and Iran, Nicaragua and The Netherlands (the first concerning "amity, economic relations, and consular rights" and the latter two concerning "friendship, commerce, and navigation") were ratified by the Senate on July 11 while a fourth, with Haiti, was tabled because it omitted standard guarantees of religious freedom for nationals of each country. Ever since POAU first called public attention to the omission in an exclusive "Church and State" story (May, 1955), opposition to the Haitian draft treaty has been growing, but the State Department still insists that it will press for ratification in the next session of Congress.

◆ Two members of the Air Force's women's corps have been discharged from service because they became converts of Jehovah's Witnesses and refused to salute the flag. Court martial proceedings were initiated, then abandoned when Maj. Gen. Roy H. Linn, commander of the Western Air Defense Force, ordered "administrative" discharges for them. The two WAFCs had been Baptists at the time of enlistment and had good service records. Gen. Linn said the Air Force does not accept Jehovah's Witnesses for enlistment. . . . A congress of 13,000 Jehovah's Witnesses in Berlin petitioned Soviet Russian Premier Nikolai A. Bulganin in July to release thousands of Witnesses said to be imprisoned in more than fifty Soviet camps, not counting many others who have died in confinement. The petitioners demanded religious freedom and the right to circulate Russian-language editions of the Witnesses' organ, *The Watchtower*.

◆ A revised draft of the controversial "guiding statement" of the New York City Board of Superintendents concerning public school instruction in moral and spiritual values (first issued on June 14, 1955) will be the subject of a public Board of Education hearing on September 17 (postponed from August 30, partly because of Jewish holidays). The tentative revisions are intended to shift emphasis to "building good character" and away from the earlier insistence that the public schools "must reinforce the program of the home and church in strengthening belief in God."

◆ In Hong Kong to preside over the Asian Baptist Youth Conference in August, Dr. Theodore Adams of Richmond, Va., a POAU national advisor, reported that he had found encouraging signs of religious activity in Europe and the Middle East during a recent trip, and added: "This was true even in Spain where our churches are closed."

◆ The United States Supreme Court has been asked to review a California Supreme Court decision last June which held, by a 4-3 vote, that private non-profit elementary and high schools could be exempted from property taxes. Attorney Henry C. Clausen is handling the appeal against the state court's decision for the California Taxpayers' Alliance. Former Governor Culbert L. Olson declared in July that the tax exemption would "commit California to the subsidization of Catholic parochial schools particularly and incidentally other sectarian schools" and might lead eventually to "direct grants for the support of Catholic schools in our state budget." (For earlier stories, see "Church and State," September, 1953 and January, 1956.)

◆ The Orthodox rabbinate of Israel recently failed in its effort to block the issuance of a building permit for a school of archeology in Jerusalem because the sponsors planned to hold non-Orthodox, Reform Sabbath services in the projected building. The municipal council voted 11-6 to grant the permit, sought by Dr. Nelson Glueck, American archeologist and president of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion of Cincinnati and New York.

Invokes 'Majority-Rule' Theory To Justify Religion in Schools

Joseph B. Cavallaro, chairman of the New York City Board of Higher Education and a feverishly active Roman Catholic layman, has apparently never heard of Bridget Donahoe, Tom Wall or Father John Bapst. Someone should tell Dr. Cavallaro about them, for Bridget Donahoe and Tom Wall were Roman Catholic children who, about a century ago, were persecuted by public school authorities for refusing to participate in Protestant-oriented religious exercises, and Father John Bapst was tarred and feathered for having come to Bridget's defense and asserted the principle of minority rights—yet Dr. Cavallaro on June 3 and June 6 delivered public addresses in which he called for religious indoctrination in the public schools on the principle of "majority rights."

Bridget Donahoe's case arose in the town of Ellsworth, near Bangor, Me., in 1854, when the local school committee made it obligatory for all pupils to read from the King James Bible. Bridget, at the direction of her father and the Jesuit priest, John Bapst, refused to obey the public school authorities and was expelled. Father Bapst, personally threatened, left town, but the mob carried out its threats a few months later when he returned. The similar case of Tom Wall arose in Boston, Mass., in 1859 when the boy, obeying stern parental and priestly admonitions, refused to recite the Ten Commandments and was joined by some 60 of his classmates who made up about two-thirds of the student body. It was only after being whipped repeatedly upon the hands with a rattan stick for a half-hour that Tom Wall yielded. There were many other cases of this kind. (See Leo Pfeffer's *Church, State, and Freedom* [Beacon Press, 1953], pp. 376-378.)

Was Dr. Cavallaro really ignorant on this score—or only discreetly forgetful—when he demanded the return of "God" to public education in his June 3 address to thousands at a rally of Holy Name Societies in Brooklyn and in another address on June 6 at commencement exercises of St. Joseph's College for Women? Perhaps the changing identities of the "majority" and the "minorities" have something to do with this change in line on the part of Roman Catholic leadership. Because of radical population changes in recent years, it is estimated that Catholics today constitute about 50 per cent of the New York City constituency, comprising the largest single religious group. Whatever the explanation, this Roman Catholic layman in public office

called for all-out implementation of recent controversial recommendations of the New York State Board of Regents and the New York City Board of Superintendents for public school religious instruction, and asked: "Are we to favor the irreligious parent and pupil over the religious parent and pupil?"

Aid and Comfort

In implying that only the "irreligious parent" was opposed to the New York board's proposals, Dr. Cavallaro was distorting the facts, since a number of Christian and Jewish groups have vigorously opposed the draft program. The local Protestant Council has recognized the need for revision of the plan in order to "take proper account of the rights of those . . . who take a non-theistic position. . . ." Nevertheless, he was able to draw support for his "majority-rule" thesis from statements by leaders of non-Catholic origin, such as the late Nicholas Murray Butler, famous during his lifetime as president of Columbia University. "Dr. Butler," according to the speaker, "asserted [in his 1934 annual report to the university trustees] that the religious believers of the United States, numerically a substantial majority of the population, pay out billions of dollars year after year to support and equip the most gigantic school system in all the world for the chief benefit of a minority of agnostics and atheists. . . ."

Greatest Danger

The "majority-rule" line of argument represents an attempt to drop overboard the basic guarantees of freedom of conscience formulated by the Founding Fathers, who recognized that the greatest danger to religious liberty lay in the natural tendency of the majority to suppress the minority. James Madison, "father of the Constitution," was prophetic when he told Congress on June 8, 1789: "The prescriptions in favor of liberty ought to be leveled against that quarter where the greatest danger lies, namely, that which possesses the highest prerogative of power. But this is not found in either the exec-

EXHIBIT A

The devastating effects on the community of such proposals as Dr. Cavallaro's, discussed on this page, are exemplified by the heated controversy which continues to rage in Salt Lake City, Utah, over the move to give public high school credit for private-school "Bible History and Literature" courses conducted in schools of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, better known as the "Mormon" church ("Church and State," July, page 3).

utive or legislative departments of Government, but in the body of the people, operating by the majority against the minority."

When Bridget Donahoe and Tom Wall and Father Bapst fought to remain Catholics in a "Protestant" world, they were confronted with the same "majority-rule" argument that the Roman Catholic Dr. Cavallaro invokes today. When Protestants in Spain or Colombia or Italy fight for their rights in a "Catholic" world, they are scorned as a "minority." The truth is that no one's religious freedom is safe when *anyone*—no matter who—is persecuted or stigmatized for his conscientious beliefs. Roger Williams, living in colonial Massachusetts, passed Springfield Green one day when he was only 14 and saw a dissenter being burned at the stake. Revolted to the depths of his being, he dedicated his life to the struggle for religious liberty. It did not occur to him to ask *what kind of dissenter* was being burned at the stake—he thought it as wrong to burn an atheist as to burn anyone else.

Church and State, in July, 1953 (p. 4) noted the likely consequences of the "majority-rule" thesis if it were ever to be applied consistently throughout the country: "... Roman Catholics, Protestants, Jews and all others will suffer a deprivation of their rights in every community where they happen to be in a minority, each in turn. The application of the 'majority-faith' approach can only result in the destruction of the public school system and its replacement by a series of competing systems of tax-supported denominational schools." In the same issue, an editorial on "Captive Schools" (p. 2) gave the background of Dr. Cavallaro and showed the sectarian basis upon which he was elevated to his high public office. This explains a great deal. (See, also, "The 'Numbers' Game," editorial in the January, 1952 issue.)

Kentucky Presbyterian School Contract Void

Church appointment and supervision of teachers and the "public" school program in Frenchburg, Kentucky, was held unconstitutional in a recent opinion of the state Attorney General's office. For many years, under a contract between the Menifee County Board of Education and the United Presbyterian Church of North America, the church operated its Frenchburg School as a "public," tax-supported institution whose teaching personnel and program were controlled by church, not public, authorities ("Church and State," November, 1953). Assistant Attorney General Robert F. Matthews found this agreement to be in conflict with state constitutional requirements for separation of church and state.

"The law," ruled Matthews, "places responsibility for operation of schools in the public authorities, not in a religious group. School authorities have no right to surrender to a private religious organization control over the teaching profession or children attending public schools."

School Board Drags Feet On Kentucky Court Order

Reports from Marion County, Kentucky, indicate that the Roman Catholic-dominated school board and the Roman Catholic superintendent of schools, Hugh C. Spalding, may not cooperate with the State Court of Appeals mandate (*Church and State*, July) to clean up the school system there. An effort is apparently being made to stall the inevitable and, if possible, to deprive the Bradfordsville pupils of another year of schooling.

Faced with inaction of the county officials, Jesse K. Lewis, attorney for the Marion County citizens, is exploring the possibility of damage suits on behalf of pupils whose civil rights are being violated.

At a school board meeting on July 17 there was no indication that its members would attempt to carry the case to a higher court. They did, however, avail themselves of every known delaying tactic. They have asked the court for a rehearing so they can point out the "errors" in its ruling. Citizens of Bradfordsville attending the session were irate at the board's attitude. One of their leaders, funeral director Don Drye, declared: "The time to act is today. You're robbing hundreds of boys and girls out there of a decent education." Edgar Purdy, Bradfordsville farmer, told the board and Superintendent Spalding: "We want you to come out

there and hire some teachers and bring us the stuff that we need to educate our boys and girls."

Spalding coolly replied: "We believe the court is in error."

The citizens are hopeful that after the first shock of defeat the Superintendent and his henchmen on the board will give up their effort to force Roman Catholic teaching on Protestant children in the public schools and will permit the Bradfordsville school to re-open this fall.

Post Office Censorship Hit by Quaker Counsel

Apparently American Friends can be permitted to read and think only what the Inspector General at the Boston Post Office approves. A shocking instance of attempted state dictation to a church was disclosed by Winslow H. Osborne of the American Friends Service Committee. Osborne appeared before a Subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee July 9.

The Boston post office official had not sent his agents to meetings of the Friends in order to censor proceedings. But he had done the next best thing. He had impounded and destroyed literature addressed to the Friends Committee which he thought they ought not to read. It was explained that the postal authorities considered the material "communistic" and felt it should not be circulated.

Osborne produced copies of the material and submitted that there was nothing whatever in it that was subversive or that advocated insurrection. What it came to was that the Inspector General at the Boston post office disapproved of some of the ideas in the literature and therefore suppressed it. Mr. Osborne charged that such incidents took place in 1954, 1955 and 1956. There was no denial of the charge.

The testimony was given in reference to House Bill 4105 which was designed to confirm postal officials in the very powers they had unwarrantedly assumed. Osborne urged that present laws were sufficient for the country's protection and that the proposed legislation would be unvarnished censorship. Such a law, he said, would "adopt Communist methods of an Iron Curtain and secret censorship."

Readers of *Church and State* will recall that censorship by postal au-

thorities is an old story. Avro Manhattan's book, *Catholic Imperialism and World Freedom*, was called unavailable last year (*Church and State*, March, 1955). The book had, of course, no communist or treasonable teaching. It was suppressed just because somebody in the post office didn't like the ideas it contained. Publicity given by POAU to this act of censorship led to the lifting of the ban on April 1, 1955.

Methodists Commend POAU, Dr. Rawlings

The Northeastern Jurisdictional Conference of the Methodist Church meeting at Lake Junaluska, N. C., in July, has cited POAU and a retired Methodist minister, the Rev. J. C. Rawlings, for the successful litigation regarding the public schools of Marion County, Ky. Dr. Rawlings had served as plaintiff in court actions designed to re-open the Bradfordsville School and to eliminate Roman Catholic sectarian teaching from the public schools of the county.

Dr. W. Kenneth Haddock, pastor of the great Arlington Methodist Church and a trustee of POAU, took the floor to praise Dr. Rawlings. "He did a job single-handed that for a long time needed to be done," said Dr. Haddock. "POAU became interested in this case," Dr. Haddock went on, "supplied counsel and it went to the Court of Appeals of the State of Kentucky which reversed decisions of the lower courts, chided, rebuked severely the school board for its unlawful acts and restored the public school system of the county to the people who had put it into existence."

This statement of Dr. Haddock was greeted by prolonged applause from the delegates. Calling attention to the fact that the Coordinating Council of the General Conference was systematically studying POAU with the possibility of extending financial support to the organization, Dr. Haddock recommended similar action by the Jurisdictional Conference.

Fred B. Noble, conference member from Jacksonville, Fla., also took the floor to urge that "present commendation, right now, be voted POAU for the work that it has done and is doing."

Dr. E. Wade Weldon, Louisville, moved that the Secretary of the Conference be instructed to tell Dr. Rawlings of the action.

Parties Pay No Heed To Separation Issue

A plea for inclusion of a plank on separation of church and state in the 1956 platforms of the Republican and Democratic parties, sent by POAU Executive Director Glenn L. Archer on July 26 in an open letter to the platform committee chairman of each party, received only perfunctory acknowledgement from both. POAU will press the issue further by bringing it directly to the attention of the major candidates themselves during the campaign. Archer's letter, addressed to Senator Prescott Bush of Connecticut (the Republican committee chairman) and Congressman John A. McCormack of Massachusetts (the Democratic committee chairman), noted that:

... the religious affiliation of prospective Vice-Presidential candidates of one of the two major parties is being openly discussed as a factor in the selection of the candidate, and our Government is preparing to give grants of money to church institutions directly, or to subsidize them indirectly through unwarranted tax exemptions. Last year, I was one of a number of organizational spokesman invited to testify before the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights concerning current violations of religious liberty. When the subcommittee suddenly cancelled the hearings for obscure reasons, my prepared testimony was issued as a pamphlet, *Without Fear or Favor*, which concluded with certain suggestions for clarification of current national policy. I believe that these suggestions could serve as a basis for a major plank in your party's platform, and for that reason I quote them below:

"1. . . . that every federal law appropriating money for education should contain a specific provision that no portion of the funds voted may go to sectarian religious institutions either for buildings, salaries or bus transportation.

"2. . . . that the Hill-Burton Act should be amended to prevent appropriations to any denominational hospitals.

"3. . . . that in appropriation bills for the Executive branch of the government and for the State Department, specific provisions should be included prohibiting any employment of a public or secret fund for either a personal representative or an official ambassador to the Vatican. . . ."

Of course, the precise formulation of such a plank could be worked out by you and your colleagues, but in any event there is a felt need—recognized by large numbers of American citizens—for the development of a clear-cut policy along the above lines. To meet the danger to freedom, that policy should have the bipartisan backing of responsible political leaders. . . .

Senator Bush replied briefly on July 27, saying that such interest and suggestions were "welcome" and promising that Archer's views would "have the attention of the full Platform Committee." Congressman McCormack, through his executive secretary, Robert G. Baker, also acknowl-

edged the Archer letter in a form reply on July 27 and said that the matter would be "called to the attention of the Committee." When the two conventions were actually held, however, there was no public discussion of any of the basic issues raised in POAU's letter, although planks condemning religious discrimination against Americans in foreign countries were included in both party platforms (see page 8).

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'Storm Center,' 'Luther' Treated Alike by Clerics

"It's 'decent,' all right—but it's 'dangerous.' Don't see it."

This, boiled down and freely translated, was the classification given recently by the National (Roman Catholic) Legion of Decency to the independently-produced motion picture, *Storm Center*, starring Bette Davis. The occasion was the second in recent years when a notable film was "separately classified" by the Legion—the first having been *Martin Luther* (see *Church and State*, February and April, 1954, as well as other issues, for details of efforts to prevent general showing of *Martin Luther* both in the United States and foreign countries). The Legion, observing that a separate classification "is given to certain films which, while not morally offensive, require some analysis and explanation as a protection to the uninformed against wrong interpretations and false conclusions," said of *Storm Center*:

"The highly propagandistic nature of this controversial film (book burning, anti-Communism, civil liberties) offers a warped, over-simplified and strongly emotional solution to a complex problem of American life. Its specious arguments tend seriously to be misleading and misrepresentative by reason of an inept and distorted presentation."

Storm Center, produced by Julian Blaustein, tells the story of a small town public librarian who is fired by the city council after many years of service because she refuses to remove a pro-Communist book (*The Communist Dream*—a fictitious title) from the shelf. She bases her refusal to remove the book on her belief that the Jeffersonian doctrine of freedom of thought requires unimpeded access by the public to all points of view, including those expressed in books like Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf* (already in the library without objection

from the city council) and *The Communist Dream*. Her dismissal, at first virtually unopposed, leads to a community crisis which eventuates in her ultimate vindication and return to duty.

Upon hearing of the Legion's classification, Producer Blaustein retorted: "The Legion can't object to the film on moral issues because there is nothing in it to object to, so they used this device of highly personal opinion with editorial adjectives. We have a self-censorship system in this industry, the Production Code, but that isn't enough for the Legion. On this basis, why shouldn't the B'nai B'rith [a Jewish social service agency] have one, too, and everyone else?" Joining in the criticism, *The Commonwealth*—the only important "Catholic" magazine which is edited by laymen—scored the Legion on August 3 for going beyond questions of "decency" to place a political condemnation on *Storm Center*. (*The Commonwealth* dealt with the incident as if it had been the first of its kind, ignoring the Legion's previous "separate classification" of *Martin Luther*, also on grounds which had nothing to do with "decency.") In Hollywood, the Motion Picture Industry Council assailed the Legion in similar fashion, saying that "this action by the Legion goes beyond normal criticism and spiritual advice, and is a form of censorship with the purpose of dictating and controlling the content of motion pictures"

Coincident with the Legion-stirred "storm" over *Storm Center*, the Plymouth Monthly Meeting of Friends, a Quaker community near Philadelphia, was being publicly questioned by Congressman Francis E. Walter of the House Un-American Activities Committee over its employment of a dismissed public librarian, Mrs. Mary Knowles, as librarian for the group. The Plymouth Monthly Meeting refused to submit its minutes for the congressional committee's inspection, asserting that the committee had no right to determine "whether they [leaders of the Meeting] have followed the requirements of good order in our Society. . . . We regard such inquiries as a serious transgression upon the complete division between church and state, which is one of the important foundations of our democracy."

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Send for the latest POAU pamphlets—see page 7, column 2 for titles.

Judge Bans Proselytizing Clause in Sect's Charter

The "free exercise" of religion—which includes the right to change one's own religion or to convert others—was denied recently to an evangelical group in Oakmont, Pennsylvania, by an act of judicial usurpation. The evangelists, operators of a church organization known as the "Conversion Center" applied for a corporate charter and were turned down in July by Judge William R. Toal of the Court of Common Pleas.

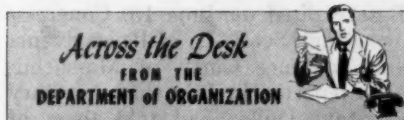
Judge Toal said the group could, if it chose, go on working "to persuade adherents of the Roman Catholic faith that they should give up their adherence to the Roman Catholic Church and its teachings," but he refused to grant them a non-profit corporation charter. "We are of the opinion," he observed, "that to permit these incorporators to specifically organize as a corporate entity for the prime purpose of proselytizing in among one particular sect would in effect place the blanket of approval of this court." According to this theory, the court could not approve the application of any non-profit group with which the judge and other members of the community were in personal disagreement. If a society of cat-fanciers were to apply for a charter, and the judge and some of his neighbors did not happen to like cats, he would have to deny the application because to grant it would be to "place the blanket of approval of this court."

\$8,000,000 Raid

(Continued from page 1)

section 7 of the War Claims Act of 1948 so that "a religious organization functioning in the Philippines shall be held and considered to be affiliated with a religious organization in the United States if it is of the same denomination. . . ." An estimated thirty million dollars might have gone to the Roman Catholic Church under the Heselton bill had not POAU warned the country against it. (*Church and State*, July 1953).

Defeated on the legislative front—for the time, at least—the clerical strategists resumed their maneuvering for administrative action. Brushing aside two previous rejections by war claims commissioners, church officials presented claims totalling \$6,846,000—this time in the names of nine Philippine bishops—to the For-



Public Rallies

Paul Blanshard is definitely scheduled for chapter and church-sponsored public rallies in Chicago (October 12), Erie, Pa., (October 25) and Jacksonville, Fla. (November 4). Nine other chapter cities are negotiating for meetings.

Reformation Sunday

Requests for Reformation Day speakers are taking POAU staff members into several states: Glenn L. Archer at Henderson, N. C., C. Stanley Lowell at Sedalia, Mo., John C. Mayne, at Endicott, N.Y., and Paul Blanshard at Jacksonville, Fla.

New Literature

Among the fresh new pieces of POAU literature for use, at cost, by chapters are: *The Growing Struggle for Religious Liberty and Without Fear or Favor* by Glenn L. Archer; *A Summons to Americans* by C. Stanley Lowell; and *Wake Up America* and *Dear Mr. Catholic Candidate* by the staff. Wide distribution by chapter membership committees is being carried on.

New Chapters Chartered

Boston, Mass., with 25 directors; Erie, Pa., with 29 directors; and Columbus, O. with 21 directors. Among those seeking charters are: Santa Monica and Pasadena, Calif.; Asheville, N. C., Buffalo, N. Y., and Salt Lake City, Utah.

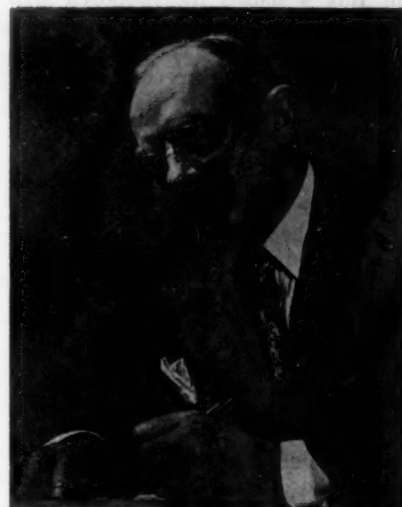
Foreign Claims Settlement Commission. In March, 1955, Bishop Fulton J. Sheen, the hierarchy's best-known American spellbinder, appeared personally to re-argue the case on the theory that the Philippine bishops were legally "affiliated" with the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, a U. S. - based organization headed by Sheen. The Foreign Claims Settlement Commission, like its predecessor, the War Claims Commission, rejected the argument as presented on behalf of the nine bishops' \$6,846,000 claim, but granted nearly \$5,000,000 to the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, the Bishop of Zamboanaga and the Archbishop of Jaro, together with grants to some non-Catholic church groups. An estimated 80 per cent of all church claims had been Roman Catholic. (*Church and State*, April, 1955.)

Its appetite whetted, the Treasury-raiding machine secured the introduction on June 1, 1955 of Congressman McCormack's bill, H. R. 6586. As a sop to Protestant leaders who had testified against the McCormack bill, it was amended before passage in order to make it possible for non-Catholic church organizations to file claims within a six-month period.

Insult is added to the injury done American taxpayers by the fact that a good part of the \$8,000,000 will go to European-affiliated Catholic orders whose Philippine branches were pro-Axis during the war.

Ninth Conference

(Continued from page 1)



Dr. Morrison
(to officiate)

ell and John C. Mayne, Executive Director, Associate Director and Director of Organization, respectively, of the national POAU organization with headquarters in Washington, D. C.

Previous National Conferences have been held in Washington's Constitution Hall.

Spellman 'Examined'

Now you can hear Paul Blanshard, noted author and student of Vatican affairs, conduct *An Imaginary Cross Examination of Cardinal Spellman* through the miracle of a long-playing (30-minute) hi-fidelity recording. Play it in your church or home or lodge on any 3-speed phonograph. Only \$2 postpaid. Use blank below:

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Senate Reaffirms Rights Of Americans Overseas

Vigorous defense of the religious rights of American citizens in any and all foreign countries where they may be threatened was called for in a resolution adopted by the United States Senate on July 26. The move had been initiated on June 27 by Senator Herbert H. Lehman of New York and 17 other Senators of both parties, in the form of S. Res. 298, and was finally adopted as S. Res. 323, a revised version written by Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Walter F. George of Georgia. A public statement by POAU Executive Director Glenn L. Archer on July 4 hailed the proposed step as "sorely needed at a time when American citizens in such countries as Colombia, Spain, Greece, Iran, Italy and Haiti, as well as Saudi Arabia, face religious discrimination," and added:

"Senator Lehman struck just the right note in asking the nation to stick to the principle enunciated by the nineteenth-century American statesman, Lewis Cass—

"Not merely to protect a Protestant in a Catholic country, a Catholic in a Protestant country, and a Jew in a Christian country, but an American in all countries."

In addition to Saudi Arabia (*Church and State*, May and June), half a dozen other countries where the existing situations merited remedial action were discussed by Archer.

The Saudi Arabian situation, involving the complete exclusion of Jews and restrictions on the public worship of Christians, was particularly urgent because the United States' five-year lease of Dhahran Air

Base expired on June 18. Congressmen Hugh Scott, Jr. of Pennsylvania and Laurence Curtis of Massachusetts reported in July that Secretary of State Dulles had told them of various difficulties attending the renewal negotiations with King Saud—one being the religious discrimination question—and had intimated that the possibility of establishing a substitute U. S. base in British-controlled neighboring territory was being considered. Then, in August, the crisis precipitated by Egyptian President Nasser's seizure of the Suez Canal led to suspension of the U. S.-Saudi Arabian Dhahran renewal talks. Pointed allusions to the air base discrimination were included in sections of the Democratic and Republican Party platforms, pledging the parties to oppose "any arrangement or treaty with any government which by its terms or in its practical application would sanction such [discriminatory] practices" (Democratic plank), and to initiate "appropriate action to oppose the imposition by foreign governments of discrimination against United States citizens based on their religion or race" (Republican plank).

Senate Resolutions 323, observing that "the protection of the integrity of United States citizenship . . . is a principle of United States sovereignty," declared it to be "the sense of the Senate" that foreign religious discrimination against American citizens "in the granting of personal or commercial access or any other rights . . ." are "incompatible with the relations that should exist among friendly nations," and that "in all negotiations between the United States and any foreign state every reasonable effort should be made to maintain this principle."

Wind-Fall to Church Seen in Hospital Aid

\$112,039,000 to Roman Catholic hospitals.

\$23,118,000 to Protestant hospitals.

\$2,000,000 (of the above total) to Baptist hospitals.

\$5,899,000 to Jewish hospitals.

These figures were cited in Washington last month as illustrative of the one-sided nature of federal aid to church hospitals under the Hill-Burton Act during the past ten years. Dr. C. Emanuel Carlson, successor to POAU Vice-President J. M. Dawson as executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, analyzed the comparative disbursements and concluded:

"Obviously, Baptists and other Protestant groups have refrained from requesting public funds for denominational hospital work. The Baptist adult population is not far below the Roman Catholic adult population. Hence, the difference in philosophy shows up in the amount of funds granted."

Dr. Carlson said he was not charging "discrimination in the administration of the act," but asserted that "principles involved are such as to produce an obvious discrimination." He reiterated that it is wrong for the government to aid *any* church-controlled institutions, and asked favorable consideration of a proposal recently advanced by the executive committee of the Southern Baptist Convention that the government should *loan* rather than *give* money (*Church and State*, July).

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Connecticut Board Denies Priest's Bid for Bus Aid

The Board of Education in Hamden, Conn., has refused to provide transportation in public facilities for private schools in that area. According to Religious News Service, Rev. William J. Daly, pastor of St. Rita's Roman Catholic Church, had requested the board to use its busses for about thirty-five pupils living more than a mile from his new parochial school.

The Chairman of the Board of Education, the Rev. Joseph G. Peters, a Congregational minister, pointed out that the Board's decision "had nothing to do with religion." The job of the Board, he pointed out, is to "take care of public school pupils."

CHURCH AND STATE

Monthly Organ of

Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation
of Church and State

1633 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.